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exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kaṇḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*.

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them.

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*.

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry.

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*.

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were

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Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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606 domestic work under the close supervision of her mother-in-law. She spends most of her time with the latter.[1]

The mother-in-law, too, has her duties towards her daughter-in-law, though in her case her rights vastly outweigh her duties. The ideal mother-in-law is one who is 'like a mother' to her daughter-in-law. She is expected to be kind and protective, and she is usually sensitive to what her neighbours and others say about the way she treats her daughter-in-law.

602 606 It was seen earlier that the ritual giving of milk is an expression of the solidarity that is, or ought to be, prevalent between the persons concerned. In the foregoing instance, the giving of milk (or sweetened dish of rice and milk) is frequently accompanied by the mother-in-law's combing the daughter-in-law's hair. Before a girl's marriage it is usually the mother, or some older female relative, who combs the former's hair and plaits it. Combing is an expression of friendliness. Marriage transfers the bride from her natal house to the groom's house, and the bride passes under the control of her mother-in-law. Solidarity rites are performed on this occasion. That the mother-in-law is equated with the mother is shown in her performing some of the duties which a mother usually does towards her daughter.

606 It is not correct, however, totally to identify the mother-in-law with the mother. The mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relationship is usually one of conflict and the reasons are not far to seek. The daughter-in-law has to obey and respect the mother-in-law as long as the latter is alive. Until her mother-in-law dies her social personality does not attain completion. Also, there is a struggle between the two women for the possession of the son, and this conflict is especially acute in the first few years of marriage. Frequently, the daughter-in-law's relatives do not help to minimize this conflict. The birth of children, however, reduces the intensity of the conflict.

XI

582 The Coorg *okka* is an exogamous unit. Sexual relations with a daughter or sister of a member of the *okka* are regarded as incestuous. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's

[1] All over patrilocal India the mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relation is recognized as a very important relation, and as basically one of conflict. See the author's *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, 1942, pp. 191–9.

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brother (classificatory): the father's first, second, and third cousins are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided.

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoidance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddanda *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*.

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kunjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*.

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is

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582 [539] sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 585 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

606 596 [539] The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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overtly or covertly. But there are other balancing factors: a girl is told from childhood onwards by every elder in her natal household that she should obey her husband and parents-in-law, and that the greatest thing she could do would be to be approved by her affinal kindred. Besides, a man is bound by the most powerful ties to his joint family; and even more important than this is the fact that he does not want to be known as the one who split his joint family.

Where an adult male is entitled to demand his share of the ancestral property, marriage with a stranger girl increases the chances of the division of the joint family. On the other hand, marriage with a relative makes such a division less likely. But among Coorgs certain relatives like the sisters and daughters of agnatically related males and the daughters of one's mother's sisters' daughters are tabooed for marriage. Only cross-cousins remain eligible.

As has already been mentioned, the Coorg *okka* is a very much stronger institution than the joint family of the higher castes of south India. The theory of the impartibility of its traditional property and the preference for leviratic unions buttress it strongly against fission. Add to it the fact that a cross-cousin is commonly chosen for marriage and it becomes almost impregnable.

The departure of a bride from her natal to her conjugal house on the second day of marriage is an occasion charged with emotion: I have seen an adult Coorg brother break down with grief when his sister left for her husband's home after the *sammanda* ceremony. Parents are aware that when they marry their daughter they lose her.

This breaking of the brother-sister bond which is inevitable in a patrilocal society leaves a void which is only filled when the children of the brother and sister intermarry. It may be said that the wound takes a generation to heal. This is only so if it is regarded as an individual instance, as the completion of a single cycle. But it is seen differently if each marriage is regarded as the repayment of a debt incurred a generation ago, as the working out of the principle of reciprocity. The links which are forged today by marriages between two *okkas* are only a continuation of the links which have been forged in the past. The individual instances appear only as points on two or more parallel lines which are linked all the way through. Such a view mitigates the sense of loss which the parents of the girl experience, and also gives them a sense of security as far as the girl is concerned. The prior kinship bonds which prevail

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582 between the two affinal groups ensure not only the stability of the 596 marriage, but also contribute to the solidarity of each of the two *okkas* connected by the marriage, and especially of the groom's *okka*.

XII

587 A woman is socially identified with her sisters, and a person's 582 mother's sisters are identified with his mother. As sororatic unions 596 are preferred among Coorgs, a mother's younger sister steps into the mother's shoes in the event of the mother's death before her sister's marriage. It is regarded as natural for the step-mother to hate her step-children, and a widower marries his dead wife's younger sister because he believes that the latter is more likely than anybody else to treat her step-children well.

A man's mother's sisters' children are regarded as his brothers and sisters. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter: such a union would be incestuous. The importance of the mother's sisters is stressed in their identification with the mother and in identifying their children with one's brothers and sisters.

582 It has been remarked earlier that the marriage of a girl causes a 596 change in the established relations of the members of her natal as well as conjugal *okka*. The former *okka* loses a member, whereas the latter gains one. The members of one group have to adjust themselves to the loss of a member who was with them for seventeen or eighteen or more years, and whom they all love deeply, whereas the other group have to admit a grown stranger into their *okka*. This is the inevitable result of the rule of patrilocal residence. The marriage of a daughter means her exile from her natal home. But cross-cousin marriage ensures that the daughter in question goes into an *okka* with which strong bonds of solidarity already exist. Further, the daughter's daughters return to their mother's natal *okka* on their (former's) marriage, while the daughter's sons provide a home for their mother's brother's daughters. In other words, marriage with a cross-cousin minimizes the disturbances resulting from marriage.

604 The maternal uncle is an important relative: he is the mother's [582] brother, and represents the mother's natal *okka*. Perhaps he himself has married his sister's husband's sister—cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical among Coorgs. He is also likely to be father-in-law to his sister's children. But he belongs to a different *okka* from his

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a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*konḍavanu koḍtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man' (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

Saméya gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

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On the first of *kādiyār* (Taurus), at about 8 a.m., the members of Kuklūr village gather together before the temple of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. The Brahmin priest of the temple worships the deity, and then the Bhadrakāḷi oracle, Shri Tātanḍra Kāryappa, becomes possessed by the deity and, while possessed, he issues instructions as to how to conduct the festival. He allots the work of the festival among the various Coorg *okkas* in the village and decides the dates of the fast and festival days. These days as well as the work which each *okka* has to do have already been decided by custom, and one might say that the oracle only decides according to custom. Sometimes, however, he makes minor alterations to suit special circumstances.

An elder of the Moṇṇanḍra *okka* then administers the festival vows to the assembled villagers. The headmanship of the Bhadrakāḷi temple runs in the Moṇṇanḍra *okka*, and to him as *dēva takka* belongs the right of administering oaths. A member of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* then dances the 'peacock dance' before the temple, carrying a bundle of peacock feathers. The dancer dances to the beat of the Poleya's drum.

No ritual is performed on the second day. On the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days, the representatives of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* dances the peacock dance a hundred and one times round the stone post before the temple. Four Coorgs sing the Bhadrakāḷi song to the beat of a big drum (*dōḷu*).

On the eighth day a partial fast is observed till dusk when a horn is blown which puts an end to the fast. At night, after dinner, there is a fancy-dress (*bōḍu*) show in which Coorg men take part. They dress themselves as *sanyasis*, Māpiḷḷa traders from Malabar, Mēda drummers, and so on. The ways and customs of different castes and people from different parts are satirized in the fancy-dress show. In 1941 (when I witnessed the festival) the marriage of a Coorg girl with a Tamil Mudaliar man was satirized. Coorgs do not approve of marriage with non-Coorgs and this disapproval expresses itself in a variety of ways.[1] Such marriages are still unusual.

After the fancy-dress show at the threshing-yard (*kaḷa*) of the

[1] I remember an attempt to pass a formal resolution of censure against a high-placed Coorg gentlemen who had married a non-Coorg. This was during the harvest festival when the various branches of the *okka* are expected to assemble at the ancestral house. The attempt failed conspicuously as a very important branch of the *okka* living outside Coorg failed to turn up.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother.

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case.

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannada-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's stepmother is called cikavvĕ, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyĕ, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designations involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of terminological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍwku maṇḍe ille, koḍavēku ca:ce illo 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'.

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [2], p. 126.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, *odeyā* and *ponnu* respectively.

Bibliography.

A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language):

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes* and *Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal.

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are:

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins.

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans.

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

764 **Disposal of the Dead**

783 The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

241 The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428 The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They
771 worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior
142 to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now
262 trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They
582 marry within the same gotra This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 67 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 [178] The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[171] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [191]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582 ●

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 624 *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Masjids.—There are but 5 small Masjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet.

g. The Amma-Codagas.

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pûja in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem